boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or ridiculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 is the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or [578] groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as [548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [8%] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
578 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
156 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.